

D 4835

# A Pan-Asianism Spokesman

## MITSURU TOYAMA ADVOCATES REVOLT OF EASTERN PEOPLES TO RID THE ORIENT OF WHITE INFLUENCE

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

(Christian Science Monitor Magazine)

IT was with more than usual interest that I looked forward to the prospect of a meeting with Mitsuru Toyama. For this Nestor of Japanese nationalism, who has now passed the Biblical fourscore years of human existence, is more than a political leader; he is a distinctive personality in a country where regimentation does not make for strongly marked individualism. He is even more than a personality; he has become a sort of legendary institution, a human pillar of the ideas of Old Japan.

TOYAMA'S name in Japan suggests a host of associations, glamorous, mysterious, violent. One thinks of the two secret societies in which he played a leading part, the Black Ocean Society, founded when he was still a young man, and the Black Dragon Society, both designed as spearheads of Japan's continental expansion. One recalls the bomb which badly wounded one of the leading statesmen of the Meiji Era, Gen. Okuma, when he was not moving as fast as impatient nationalists desired in the direction of abolishing foreign extraterritorial privileges. The bomb was thrown by one of Toyama's henchmen.

Another incident, characteristic of the career of a man who has always cultivated warm Pan-Asian sympathies and has never shown undue regard for constituted authority, occurred during the World War. The British Government was endeavoring to obtain the extradition from Japan of two Indian revolutionaries who were accused of terrorist offenses. The Japanese authorities were ready to surrender them; but they suddenly "disappeared." There was a strong suspicion that the revolutionists were concealed in Toyama's house. If this suspicion was true, the house was as secure as a fortress. The Indians were never returned, and one is still living in Japan as a legendary figure.

I CALLED on Toyama with a Japanese companion, interpreter early in the morning. For the Nationalist newspaper believes in going to bed and rising early. Everything about the little undistinguished house where he lives suggested a well-ordered regularity and strictness. The hallway and corridors were freezing cold in the morning frosty winter and the room in which Toyama holds his daily audience was very scantily heated by one of two hibachi, or little charcoal stoves.

Around a low round table and several guests were seated in the familiar Japanese floor-legged picture. Most of them were asking for his information on personal business matters, and Toyama, who has the feudal sense of obligation, took after his guests and waited to the best of his ability. He was writing out his answers to the South American delegates who were here.

THERE were no particularly distinguished callers at the time of my visit; but it is generally understood that such eminent statesmen as Foreign Minister Hirota find it well worth-while to cultivate good personal relations with the venerable prophet of Japanese nationalism. When my own turn came to address Toyama, I was impressed by the mildness both of manner and sentiment which characterized this man; whose name was so closely associated with deeds of violence.

The Sino-Japanese conflict he brushed aside as a mere "misunderstanding between brothers" and he discoursed so eloquently on the beauties of peace and the futility of force that one might almost imagine oneself listening to the views of Gandhi or Tolstoy. When I asked him outright whether he believed in nonviolence, however, Toyama offered some reservations:

"There are times when the use of force is unavoidable," he said. "To defend one's country, for instance, or to extend the Kodo (Imperial Way, the traditional code of ethics of Japan). But force, if it is necessary, should always be employed for the sincere purpose of getting rid of strife in the world; for it is not the essence of human nature to fight."

SOON discovered that Toyama was a far rather than a politician or economist. Many of his answers were couched in typically Oriental vagueness, and they were delivered after a longer or shorter period of silent contemplation. One subject, however, which evidently struck a responsive chord, was the question of Pan-Asianism and Japan's role in promoting it.

"It is only a question of time until white rule will disappear from the Orient," he declared. "I am glad to have done what I could to hasten the coming of this time. It is Japan's destiny to help the revolt of the Eastern peoples in order to get rid of alien Western influence. Then will come a brotherhood of Asiatic peoples which will show the world something new in the realm of civilization."

On the question of the Soviet Union, usually a very liberal red rag to a Japanese of conservative views, Mr. Toyama expressed himself coolly and modestly.

"I don't concern us if Communism prevails in Russia," he declared. "If they try to force Communism on us, of course we will resist. But it is not our business to prevent Communism from prevailing and we do not have any special feeling about it."

There is a case for that. Communist cannot influence Japan. In his response to a question about the sort of internal measures of reform he favored for Japan, Mr. Toyama stressed the fact that he is not a politician or an economist, with a clearcut program, but rather a moral philosopher, according to his own lights.

"All Japanese are brothers," he began. "Great or small, rich or poor, we are all children and subjects of His Imperial Majesty. The state should control private economic life for the general welfare, but without using force. What is most needed is that all Japanese should practice fraternal love in their relations with each other."

THE interview was ended. With ceremonious courtesy, the venerable leader of the formidable ronin, or Japanese political adventurers, autographed one of his photographs and presented it to me and accompanied me to the genkan, or entrance of his house, with a formal bow which I awkwardly endeavored to reciprocate.

The militant Pan-Asianism, to which Mitsuru Toyama has devoted so much of his life, today possesses a very definite political significance. Gen. Iwane Matsui, commander of the Japanese forces in the Shanghai-Nanking area, is an ardent Pan-Asian. Before the outbreak of the present hostilities, I had a long talk with General Matsui, who pronounced himself a believer in the slogan, "Asia for the Asiatics," and expressed the belief that the white race should withdraw politically from Asia. Another influential Japanese political figure, Admiral Nobunama Suetsugu, who is Home Minister in Prince Konoye's Cabinet, recently expressed the following views in a magazine interview:

"Unless the colored races are rescued from their miserable slavery under the yoke of the white peoples, there can be no world peace. This is my conviction, and I am ready to proclaim it to the world without hesitation."

PAN-ASIANISM would be a still more explosive force if the Japanese had been able to repulse or moderate their own impulses to dominate any part of Asia that came under their influence. Korea and Korea, Manchuria, and now North China offer convincing evidence that "Asia for the Asiatics," in practice, is apt to mean "Asia for the Japanese."

But the dynamic force of the idea as a factor in Japan's expansion cannot be mistaken; and it is perhaps more likely to increase than to diminish with the passing of time.

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## 'Asia For The Asiatics' Warcry Of Nippon Pan-Asian Society; Ideas Gaining Strength

General Matsui Directs Activities Of Japan  
Movement To Run Affairs In Far East;  
Sympathizers Said Found In China

### Philippines Future Closely Watched

A FEDERATION of Asiatic nations, cemented by common cultural ties, and looking toward Japan for leadership, is the ideal of the Dai Asia Kyokai, or Great Asia Association of Japan, in which Gen. Iwane Matsui, former commander of the Japanese Army in Formosa is a leading figure.

Even since Japan left the League of Nations, Pan-Asian ideas have been gaining strength in the Army and among some conservative intellectuals.

The Great Asia Association is the most tangible agency for promoting these ideas and General Matsui recently set forth his ideas about the background and prospects of Pan-Asianism:

"The idea of the League of Nations is good, but it has proved powerless in practice. What is necessary is to begin with smaller

associations of countries, bound together by historical and cultural ties. An Asiatic League of Nations, based on the slogan, 'Asia for the Asiatics' would be a step in the right direction."

#### "Europeanization" Blamed

In response to a suggestion that the present differences between Japan and its largest Asiatic neighbor, China, might obstruct the realization of the Pan-Asiatic ideal, General Matsui observed:

"The disagreement between Japan and China concerns temporary questions, which can be settled without war. Europeanization is really at the bottom of the trouble. If this were eliminated, Japan and China, two oriental countries with so much in common in their cultural history, could easily come to an understanding."

"I recently made a long trip in China and found sympathizers with the Pan-Asian idea in all the large cities which I visited, especially among the older and more mature Chinese. The students are less favorable to the idea; they have been exposed to too many unsettling foreign influences, such as democracy, communism and fascism."

#### Wide Following

GENERAL Matsui declared that the Pan-Asiatic idea had followers in British India, Afghanistan, French Indo-China and the Philippines, mentioning especially Prof. Pio Duran in the latter country. Professor Duran believes that the future welfare of the Philippines will be best assured if close relations are cultivated with Japan. Branches of the Great Asia Association have been formed in Korea and in Formosa; and the movement, according to General Matsui, has found sympathizers in Tientsin and Canton, although the authorities in the latter city have forbidden any organization in this connection.

The Great Asia Association numbers about 300 members. General Matsui disclaimed any desire for a large membership, declaring that the aims of the body were mainly cultural, political and economic.

(Please Turn to Page 17)

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that the idea of Pan-Asianism was making slow but steady progress as a result of pamphlets, lectures and other forms of propagandist activity which are carried on by the association.

#### Asiatic Asia

A vigorous, forthright statement of the aims of the Great Asia Association is to be found in a pamphlet entitled "Asiatic Asia: What Does It Mean?" by Prof. Takeyo Nakatani, secretary of the association. The idea of Japanese hegemony is put forward very clearly by Professor Nakatani in the following terms:

"To bring order and reconstruction to the present chaotic condition of Asia is a duty that rests mostly on the shoulders of Japan. . . . She has been asked to put to work all her forces, cultural, political, economic and, if need be, military, in order to bring about unity and wholesale reconstruction of Asia."

Professor Nakatani sees political, economic and cultural implications in his slogan of "Asiatic Asia." Asia, today, in his opinion, is a European Asia, an Asia of the white man and, therefore, a "lost Asia." "It is the imperialistic will of the West which is really controlling Chinese politics and economics." Therefore, the first effective condition of an Asiatic Asia is the end of Western influence in the Asiatic continent as a whole. Since Japan has changed from a member of the League of Nations, which Professor Nakatani calls "a league of white nations," into a nation "thoroughly imbued with an Asiatic consciousness and animated by the slogan, 'Back to Asia,'" the Japanese are today the foremost supporters of the idea of an Asiatic federation.

#### As Economic Unit

ON the economic side, Professor Nakatani calls for "the termination of the continuous exploitation of Asia and the sources by the capitalism of the West."

and for "the formation of an economic unit of Asia as a whole." In the cultural field he sees the Asiatic nations rejecting western models and reverting to their old spiritual ideas, citing in this connection Mahatma Gandhi's movement in India. He predicts that "the politics of tomorrow will consist of co-existence and co-operation between large groups of nations combined together—groups such as the Pan-European Union, the Union of North and South Americas, the Soviet Union, the Asiatic Federation."

The significance of this Pan-Asian doctrine outside of Japan should not be over-rated. It certainly finds little support here in China, where the overwhelming majority of the educated classes regard Japan as the main threat to China's administrative sovereignty and territorial integrity. But General Matsui is by no means alone among Japan's high military leaders in cherishing an almost mystical faith in Japan's mission as the driving force in an "Asia-for-the-Asiatics" movement. If the present century is to witness an expansion of the Japanese Empire, Pan-Asianism may become a moral slogan as inspiring to a certain type of Japanese mind as Kipling's "white man's burden" was to the British believer in the blessings of imperial rule.

# Matsui Tells Principles Of Pan-Asianism

General Says China And Japan Must Get Down "To Fundamentals"

DOESN'T SEEK WEST EXCLUSION

Termed Basic Idea Behind Nippon Military

It is imperative that both China and Japan get down to fundamentals before a real basis for understanding and co-operation may be reached. General Iwane Matsui, Japan's leading exponent of the doctrine of Pan-Asianism, told a CHINA PRESS reporter yesterday in an interview at the Japanese Consulate-General.

General Matsui, who arrived here recently from South China, and who returned Sunday from Nanking, will sail for Japan today on the s.s. Nagasaki Maru for Japan. In Nanking General Matsui had interviews with General Chiang Kai-shek, President of the Executive Yuan, and General Chang Chun, Foreign Minister. Yesterday he was reported to have conferred with Mr. T. V. Soong, President of the National Economic Council, and Mayor Wu Teh-chen. "Pan-Asianism," General Matsui explained through an interpreter, "originated 40 years ago when Dr. Sun Yat-sen visited Japan and presented his ideas to a number of Japanese leaders.

## Similar Movements Abroad

"Since then, Pan-Asianism has become the fundamental ideology of the Japanese military and it is with this doctrine as a basis that the relations between Japan and China must be worked out as a whole. This does not mean that China will be dominated by Japan. I am seeking a co-ordination of all the forces of good—cultural, psychological, ethical—for the fundamental well-being of Asia, just as there is a similar fundamental policy and system in Europe and in North and South America.

"Again, this movement does not mean the exclusion of the West from the Orient. We seek to bring peace through the co-operation of all the peoples of Asia. We recognize the contributions that the West has brought to the East."

## Back To Fundamentals

Asked what specific concrete proposals he had in mind to bring about the realization of his program, General Matsui declared: "The people of Asia must get back to fundamentals. They must do away with suspicion and antagonism."

When the question was repeated, General Matsui suggested that talks and personal contacts should be made. "We must get down to fundamentals," he explained. "Great progress has been made in advancing the movement in 'Manchukuo.' Amoy, Foochow and Peiping also have Pan-Asia groups. The movement, however, should be made to include people who are more representative of Japan and China." General Matsui admitted that the doctrine has not been supported by any leaders in China.

Questioned again as to specific ways in which the movement was to be spread, the interpreter said: "The General has ideas, but he is not ready just yet to put them in practice. We must get back to fundamentals, you know."

The reporter wanted to know what "fundamentals" meant in General Matsui's explanation but the question was politely ignored.

## Suspicion Of Motives

Commenting on the lack of support of the movement in China, General Matsui remarked: "Among the younger generation and present leaders in China there is suspicion of Japan's motives. In fact, many Chinese fear ulterior motives in respect to Japanese policy towards

China. China has always considered herself the Celestial Kingdom and looked on everyone else as barbarians. This is one of the points upon which an understanding must be reached."

Through his interpreter, General Matsui indicated that he does not endorse any so-called "Asiatic Monroe Doctrine," nor is he an exponent of an economic bloc between Japan, China and "Manchukuo."

"Japan has progressed much in recent years and in the Japanese mind there is a tendency to hold China in contempt because she has not enjoyed material progress. These ideas must also be corrected.

"True, there are faults on both sides. We must go to the roots of these problems and arrive at a fundamental and great understanding. The present differences between China and Japan are only of recent origin. Close co-operation is fundamental between the two nations and we must return to this," General Matsui said and the interview concluded.

General Matsui delivered a lecture on the subject to the Koyu Club, composed of graduates of the Tung Wen College, yesterday afternoon.

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SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL POLICE

REPORT

SHANGHAI  
File No. 4835  
No. S. B. D. 4835  
Special Branch 3333, 336

Date March 16 to 36

Subject Mayor Wu Teh-chen to entertain Japanese officials at the Hang  
Hwa Leu Restaurant, Foochow Road, on March 16.

Made by and Forwarded by C.D.I. Grubb

At 3.45 p.m. March 16, S.H. Tang, Secretary to the  
City Government, telephoned to Police Headquarters and stated  
that between 7.30 p.m. and 10 p.m. March 16, Mayor Wu will  
entertain General Matsui and other Japanese officials to  
dinner in the Hang Hwa Leu (杏花樓) Restaurant, 343 Foochow  
Road. He requested that plain clothes policemen and uniformed  
men be detailed for duty at the restaurant, and vicinity as a  
precautionary measure.

The undermentioned members of the Special Branch have  
been detailed for observation duty at the restaurant from 7 p.m.  
till the termination of the function:

D.S. Lingard	1 1/2 hrs' duty	(Landed 10.15)
D.S. Suga	3	100
C.D.C. 24	3	100
C.D.S. 94	3	100

Total 10 1/2 hrs

Distribution

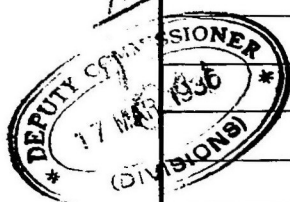
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16 MAR 1936

**Gen. Matsui Arrives  
From Southern Tour  
Urging Pan-Asianism**

General Iwane Matsui, retired officer of the Japanese Army who is endeavoring to promote Pan-Asianism under Japan's leadership, was in Shanghai today after a long campaign in South China.

In the South, General Matsui was active in interviewing Kwangsi and Canton leaders, including Mr. Hu Han-min and Dr. Ch'ow Lu. He expects to stay here for several days and then go to Nanking.

"The sentiments of the Chinese regarding Japan are improving rapidly," General Matsui told a reporter of the Shanghai branch.

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14 MAR 1936

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## Matsui Gives Panacea For Better Relations

"Critique Yourself, Be Lenient  
With Others," He Opines

NANKING, Mar. 13.—(Central).—"Be strict and severe in criticizing oneself, but be liberal and lenient in criticizing others" is the panacea for the present Sino-Japanese impasse suggested by General Iwane Matsui, former member of the Japanese Supreme War Council and an ardent advocate of Pan-Asianism, in an interview with local press representatives today.

General Matsui made several trips to China during recent years turning to good account his earlier connections with the present-day Chinese government leaders. He arrived here yesterday after an extensive tour to South China where he saw Mr. Hu Han-min, recently elected Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Central Executive Committee, Mr. Hsiao Fu-chen, Mr. Chow Lu and other leaders of the Southwest.

To General Matsui's mind the present diplomatic and political estrangement between China and Japan is not fundamentally important. Rather it is the thought and attitude of the two peoples towards each other, which should be cultivated and promoted. But when asked how he proposed to separate politics from racial feelings and thoughts, he smiled and became non-committal.

### Physically Alike

Speaking of affinity physical and otherwise between the Chinese and Japanese he pointed to his Chinese interviewers and then at himself with an articulate gesture asking, "Who can tell any difference between us?"

Proceeding General Matsui said that he is optimistic about the future of Sino-Japanese relations, although he admitted that it takes time for the realization of Pan-Asianism.

General Matsui was the guest of honor at a luncheon party given by General Chang Chun, Minister of Foreign Affairs, today. Tomorrow he will call on Gen. Chiang Kai-shek, President of the Executive Yuan. On Sunday he will leave for Shanghai to see Mr. T. V. Soong, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Bank of China, and Mayor Wu Te-chen of Greater Shanghai. From Shanghai he will sail for Japan on March 18.

### Not Going North

General Matsui is not visiting North China this time. When asked if it wasn't because of the lack of need for promoting better Sino-Japanese relations in North China, he smiled and significantly answered with the question: "Hasn't every question been settled in North China?"

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THE CHINA PRESS, MONDAY, MARCH 16, 1936

General Iwane Matsui, former member of the Japanese Supreme War Council and an ardent advocate of Pan-Asianism, arrived in Shanghai yesterday afternoon from Nanking, where he interviewed Chinese authorities Sino-Japanese relations. General Matsui will call on Mr. T. V. Soong, member of the Standing Committee of the National Economic Council, and Mayor Wu Te-chen of Greater Shanghai to-day. He will return to Japan on March 19 aboard the Nagasaki Maru.

File

W.G.  
18 MAR 1936

*[Handwritten signature]*

SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL POLICE	
S. B. REGISTRY.	
No. <b>D</b>	4835
Date	16/3/36

March 16, 1936.

Morning translation,

NIPPO

GENERAL MATSUI RETURNS TO SHANGHAI

General Matsui returned to Shanghai from Hanking yesterday. He was entertained at the Rokusan Gardens last night. To-night the General will attend an entertainment to be given by Mayor Wu. He is leaving for Japan on the S.S. Nagasaki Maru on March 18.

S. E. H. H. H.	
No. D	4895
Date	1. 1. 1936

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March 11, 1936.

Afternoon Translation.

Sin Wan Pao Evening Edition published the following comment on March 9:-

#### SINO-JAPANESE FRIENDSHIP

A letter from Foochow states that after arriving in Fokien, Matsui told pressmen that he would make a tour to conduct propaganda on Pan-Asiaticism. He added that in order to promote friendship between China and Japan, Chinese and Japanese should both come to their senses.

We are glad to hear of this, but for friendship to be maintained between Chinese and Japanese, sincerity is essential. Persons who talk loudly about the maintenance of friendship must correct their mistakes of the past.

In order to bring about good relations between China and Japan, good feeling between the two peoples must first be restored. Any person who sees his own fellow-country being insulted or oppressed will not be able to overcome his indignation. China never had any intention to be hostile towards Japan. It is Japan which is responsible for the bad feelings between the two nations.

Japan must first change her policy towards China if she desires to improve her relations with China.

Sin Wan Pao publishes the following editorial:-

#### HOW WE SHOULD CONDUCT OURSELVES AT THIS TIME OF NATIONAL CRISIS

At the present time when the situation in the Far East is most critical and the atmosphere in Europe is daily becoming more strained because of Germany's action, how should China conduct herself?

The other day, General Goering of Germany said, "To-day is the first day on which Germany has begun to recover her full freedom and Baron Lichtofen, who died for his country, can now close his eyes".

Sarraut, the French Premier, recently broadcasted a speech in which he said that the French people must now give up all internal dissensions and unite to support the Government.

There is a deadly enmity between Germany and France and both will play prominent parts in the second world war.

The above two speeches will serve as a lesson to our people. Conditions in China to-day are somewhat similar to those in Germany after the Great War. After a hard struggle for 18 years, Germany has released herself of her bonds. Such a spirit should be emulated by the Chinese people. We should always keep in mind the spirit of the German people.

France and China are both republics and civil strife has been going on in these two countries. Fearing that the enemy may take advantage of the civil strife in France, the French Premier delivered the speech to stimulate the people. This shows that civil strife will ruin a country.

March 11, 1936.

Morning Translation: **D**

SHANGHAI REPORT  
S. B. KIM KRY.  
Date: 12/8/35

MAINICHI

ARRIVAL OF GENERAL MATSUI

General Matsui arrived in Shanghai at 1 p.m. yesterday from the South on the S. S. Seikyo Maru. The General is staying at the Hoyu Kwan Hotel.

Interviewed, he states that the feeling of the Chinese people in the South towards Japan is becoming better. He will proceed to Nanking after a few days to meet important officials.

WARSHIP "ATAKA" RETURNS TO SHANGHAI

The flagship "Ataka" of the 11th Squadron returned to Shanghai from Nanking on March 9. The flagship will leave here on March 24.

"IDZUMO" LEAVES FOR THE NORTH

The flagship "Idzumo" of the Third Fleet left here for the North at 2 p.m. yesterday.

NICHI-NICHI

AMBASSADOR ARITA TO CALL ON CHIANG KAI SHEK

A Dentsu telegram from Nanking reports that Ambassador Arita will pay a courtesy call on Chiang Kai Shek at 6 p.m. March 11 and will attend an entertainment to be given by Chiang Kai Shek.

SHANSI RED ARMY CONDUCTS ANTI-JAPANESE PROPAGANDA

A Dentsu telegram from Peiping dated March 10 reports that the red army which has invaded Shansi Province has established communistic administrations in eight Hsiens of Shansi Province. The red army is engaged in anti-Japanese and anti-Chiang Kai Shek propaganda among the people of Shansi. It is feared that their activities will spread to Hopei, Gharhar and Suiyuen Provinces.

**MATSUI, PAN-ASIANISM  
ADVOCATE, ARRIVES**

General Iwane Matsui, I.J.A.R.,  
an earnest advocate of Pan-  
Asianism, arrived here yesterday  
afternoon from the South by the  
s.s. Seikyo Maru.

Interviewed by a reporter for  
the Shanghai "Mainichi," General  
Matsui declared that the senti-  
ments of Chinese regarding Japan  
are "improving rapidly."

He added that he expected to  
go to Nanking after staying here  
for several days.

File  
JME

March 6, 1938.

Afternoon Trans

SHANGHAI
S. S. ASAMA MARU
No. D 4835

MAINICHI

CHINESE AMBASSADOR HSU SHIH YING LEAVING FOR JAPAN

Mr. Hsu Shih Ying, newly appointed Chinese Ambassador to Japan, will leave for Japan at midnight to-night on the S. S. Asama Maru

Mayor Wu Teh Chen will entertain Ambassador Hsu at his residence at 5 p.m. to-day.

NIPPO

GENERAL MATSUI COMING TO SHANGHAI

A Dentsu telegram from Foochow dated March 5 reports that General Matsui, who is now visiting South China, will leave for Shanghai by aeroplane on March 6.

February 25, 1936.

Afternoon Translation.

Shun Pao publishes the following comment :-

A Pan-Asiatic League.

General Matsui of Japan is at present touring Kwangtung and Kwangsi where he is paying visits to political and military leaders in South China. According to General Matsui, his object is to discuss with Chinese leaders the question of establishing a Pan-Asiatic League.

Of late, Japanese government leaders have been advocating the principle of Pan Asiaticism, but its object in advocating this principle is not to promote the welfare of all Asiatic races. It has long been the ambition of Japan to drive away European and American influences, political, military, economic and cultural, from Asia, with <sup>the</sup> Suez Canal as the dividing line between Japanese power and European influence.

The so-called Sino-Japanese League will be the predecessor of the Pan-Asiatic League and China will later be converted into a protectorate under Japan. If Japan really intends to emancipate the Asiatic races, how is she to explain the conditions now prevailing in Korea and Formosa? If Japan really intends to promote Asiatic culture, how is it that Japan is enforcing an education fit only for slaves in the Four North-Eastern Provinces and East Hopei? If Japan is sincere in her wish to render economic assistance to the Asiatic races, why has Japan adopted an aggressive trade policy in the Far East?

Under these circumstances, to advocate Pan-Asiaticism will only create ill feeling among the peoples of Asia and expose Japan's cunning and deceit.

Shun Pao publishes the following telegram from Nanking :-

THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND THE STUDENTS.

Of late the students of certain schools in Peiping, Tientsin and Hankow have been threatening their teachers and abused the representatives they had sent to attend the interview given by General Chiang Kai Shek.

Interviewed by a reporter of the Central News Agency on February 24, Wong Shih Jih (王世杰), Minister of Education, said :- "This Ministry is paying close attention to the matter. Apart from instructing the authorities of various schools to enforce strict disciplinary measures and to punish instigators, it was decided to take drastic action, if necessary, to deal with the situation, either by discontinuing grants or by closing the schools for a time. As regards education during the period of national crisis, the Ministry is at present carefully studying the matter and will enforce the measures as soon as a decision has been reached."

Extract from The China Weekly Review of Dec. 7, 1935.

" A pro-Japanese organ known as the Pan-Asian League was inaugurated in Tientsin December 2 with Li Sheng To, former Minister to Japan, as President. Kao Ling Wei, former Director-General of the Chinese Maritime Customs at Peiping and General Chi Hsieh Yuan, former Inspector-General of Kiangsu, Anhwei & Kiangsi provinces, were elected vice-presidents. Admiral Wu Yu Lin, former Minister of Communications, Lu Tsung Yu, former Minister Plenipotentiary to Japan, Sun Yun Yu, former member of the Constitution-Drafting Committee of the Kuomintang and General Lu Hsiang Ting former Divisional Commander under late Marshal Sun Chuan Fang, are the promoters of the League. The Pan-Asian League, it is stated, advocates the solidarity of Asiatics for the mutual benefit of "China the greatest of all Asian nations and Japan, the strongest, each of which has a great responsibility to discharge. "

*Reg.*

*Please attach to file on Pan Asiatic movement.*

*J.M.G.*

Extract from The China Weekly Review of Dec. 7, 1935.

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Passed to you.

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DEC 10 1935

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Mr. Golden I.S.I.  
9.12.35.

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**Pan-Asiatic Leader  
Returns To Tokyo**

(Rengo)

TOKYO, Dec. 5.—Gen. Iwane Matsui, leading military advocate of the Pan-Asiatic Movement, who returned on Tuesday from a three-month tour of "Manchukuo" and China, will call on Gen. Yoshitoki Kawashima, Minister of War, this afternoon. The retired officer, who until recently served on the Supreme Military Council, is regarded as an authority on Chinese matters.

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pass W. H. G. to file.  
J.H.G.

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Am. J. H. G. D. H.  
7.12.35.

December 4, 1935.

Afternoon Translation.

Journal de Shanghai (Editorial) :

THE PAN-ASIATIC LEAGUE.

A Pan-Asiatic League has been formed at Tientsin. The principal members of the League are mostly former high Chinese officials. The Chairman is Li Sheng To, ex-Minister to Japan, and the Vice Chairman are Kao Ling Wei, formerly Director of the Maritime Customs at Peking, and General Chi Hsi Yuan, formerly Inspector-General of Kiangsu, Kiangsi and Anhwei.

The object of the League is to propagate a notion of the solidarity of the Asiatic nations of which "China is the largest and Japan the strongest."

This is not the first time that a Pan-Asiatic movement has been reported. It has been to the fore for about 30 years. Long before the Great War, William II of Germany was alarmed at the enormous number of Asiatics in the Far East and denounced it as the Yellow Peril which he envisaged in the shape of an immense army invading Europe one day like the Huns and the Mongols.

The Pan-Asiatic doctrine began to spread in Japan after the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905. Japanese intellectuals and militarists preached the necessity of an alliance of all Asiatic races. Only, what they desired above everything else is that Japan must dominate the Asiatic Union by being its promoter, its guide and the beneficiary.

It is probable that while propagating the Pan-Asiatic doctrine beyond the borders of their country, the Japanese believe that they are working in the interests of other Asiatic peoples. They want to improve the life of the impoverished and "oppressed" races; they dream of releasing them from the tutelage of the West, only to replace it with Japanese tutelage.

They have perhaps secured sincere adherents in nationalist intellectual circles in certain countries of Asia, generally far away from Japan; they have also won the approval of idealists and dreamers. But it may be said that the Pan-Asiatic movement has not had, up to the present, practical application.

Japan has conducted an energetic propaganda in India but India will have little to gain should Japanese Pan-Asiaticism materialize. India has different castes. The fact that important relations exist between India and Japan is not sufficient cause for a political union to follow.

The relations between China and Japan have become more strained. For centuries, China had exercised a tremendous influence on Japanese civilization and for more than half a century Japan, in turn, has wielded as much influence over Young China as has the West. The relations between the two countries undergo frequent changes but during the past four years they have entered a critical stage and to-day we are witnessing one of the most important phases.

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December 4, 1938.

Afternoon Translation.

The autonomous movement in North China, which has the support of the Japanese, is, according to General Tada, the Commander of the Japanese troops in North China, the first step along the path to Pan-Asiaticism. That, at least, is what one gathers from the pamphlet which General Tada distributed among his officers in September this year. It would perhaps be more correct to say that the autonomy of the northern provinces will facilitate the realization of the Union of Far Eastern nations: China, Japan and Manchukuo, according to the wishes of Tokyo.

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Pan-Asiaticism is a far-away dream and will not materialize, but Sino-Japanese-Manchukuoan co-operation, in the sense understood by Tokyo, is an eventuality which should be envisaged seriously for it has been the avowed object of Japanese policy since April 17, 1934.

G. M.

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## North Scene Of Pan-Asia League Start

Tientsin Inauguration  
Meeting; President  
Mr. Li Sheng-to

MILITARY MEN SAID TO  
BE PROMOTERS

Advocates The Solidarity Of  
Asiatics; Benefit Of  
China And Japan

TIENTSIN, Dec. 2.—The Pan-Asian League was inaugurated here to-day with Mr. Li Sheng-to, former Minister to Japan, as President. Mr. Kao Ling-wei, former Director-General of the Chinese Maritime Customs at Peiping, and General Chi Hsieh-yuan, former Inspector-General of Kiangsu, Anhwei and Kiangsi provinces, were elected Vice-Presidents.

Admiral Wu Yu-lin, former Minister of Communications, Mr. Lu Tsung-yu, former Minister plenipotentiary to Japan, Mr. Sun Yun-yu, former member of the Constitution-Drafting Committee of the Kuomintang, and General Lu Hsiang-ting, former Divisional Commander under the late Marshal Sun Chuan-fang, are the promoters of the League.

Supporters of the League are alleged to include General Sung Cheh-yuan, Garrison Commander of Peiping and Tientsin; General Han Fu-chu, Governor of Shantung, and other officials.

The Pan-Asian League, it is stated, advocates the solidarity of Asiatics for the mutual benefit of "China, the greatest of all Asian nations and Japan, the strongest, each of which has a great responsibility to discharge."—Reuter.

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*San Antonio Times*

SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL POLICE

S. B. REGISTRY

B. D. 4835

4 12 35

## GREAT ASIA SPIRIT NEEDED

Japanese General on Strife  
With China

### BAD BLOOD NOW AT ITS WORST STAGE

Both Japan and China are to blame for the bad state of their mutual relations in the opinion of Gen. Iwane Matsui, a reserve officer in the Japanese Army.

Addressing newspaper reporters at the Towa Yoko Hotel on Boone Road at 11 o'clock yesterday morning, Gen. Matsui declared that Japan, by following in the footsteps of the nations of the west, "gave the Chinese people the impression that Japan, like the western nations, was an imperialistic power."

"This", he added, "caused the Chinese to misunderstand the Japanese spirit."

China's so-called revolutionary diplomacy was also responsible for the "bad blood" existing between the two nations, which in Gen. Matsui's opinion, is now "at its worst stage," according to the "Shanghai Mainichi."

"Japan, however, has awakened since the Manchurian Incident and we are now making efforts to revive the Asiatic races by co-operating with our neighbouring nation," he added.

Gen. Matsui, who arrived here on Wednesday from Tsingtao after a tour of North China, said his visit was for the "purpose of propagating the Great Asia spirit."

"I met 50 to 60 prominent Chinese, a number of whom were in sympathy with our views," he continued.

According to the general's plan, a Great Asia Society should be formed in China independently of that now existing in Japan. "Both groups should then seek points on which they agree and co-operate on those issues."

Gen. Matsui will leave Shanghai today by the N.Y.K. liner Chichibu Maru to return to Japan. He said he expected to visit China again next spring.

C. D. I. Grubb

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April 22, 1935.

Morning Translation.

aviation and military academies and other police institutions have Soviet military advisors. The control of Sinkiang Province is in the hands of the Soviet Consul at Dihwa and of Stalin at Moscow. The Central Government has no influence in the province.

Sin Wan Pao and other local newspapers :-

#### THE ARREST OF A KOREAN IN FRENCH CONCESSION

On March 26, 1935, Tsai Min Sin (崔民心) alias Li Min Ngho (李明五), a naturalized Chinese of Korean origin, was arrested by the French Police at his residence in Yah Zung Li (楊成里), Rue de Pere Froc, French Concession. He was later handed over to the Japanese Consulate. His naturalization certificate was taken away by the Police at the time of his arrest.

His wife has engaged lawyers Lou Yin Mei (樓英梅) and Zee Ji (徐際) to open negotiations with the French Police and the French Consulate-General, while the Ministry of Justice has also been requested to take up the matter and to lodge a protest in order to maintain the sovereign rights of our country.

On April 16 the two lawyers received a dispatch from the Ministry of Justice stating that the matter has been referred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Shanghai Morning Post (official organ of Gen. Chiang Kai Shek) and other local newspapers:

#### BUREAU OF PUBLIC SAFETY TO REMOVE ON MAY 5

The Bureau of Public Safety will remove to the former site of the Shanghai Hsien Government on Boon Lai Road, Nantao on May 5.

Journal de Shanghai dated April 21 :-

#### JAPAN AND THE PAN-ASIATIC DOCTRINE

On April 17, 1934, Japan officially proclaimed herself as the tutor of the Far East. Nothing can be modified in the Far East without her consent. She declared that she would be responsible for the maintenance of peace in this part of Asia.

This Japanese "Monroe Doctrine" applied to Eastern Asia is no longer deniable. When the Powers protested against the declaration of April 17, the Gaimusho published an explanation to appease them but this will deceive nobody for it is well known that Japan will not miss any opportunity to affirm her sway in the affairs of the Asiatic continent. Japan has been favoured by the dissensions and rivalries among the foreign Powers. Long before the Manchuria Incident, the literati of Japan had dreamed of an Asia freed from all western influence and placed under Japan's spiritual and political direction. Now that Japan no longer has any rival in Manchuria and she can concentrate her efforts to the organization of this territory, the Pan-Asiatic dream is

SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL POLICE
S. E. REGISTRY.
No. <u>D 4835</u>
Date <u>22/4/35</u>

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April 22, 1935.

Morning Translation.

D. 4835

again working upon the minds of certain intellectuals.

Recently, an Indo-Japanese Association was established at Kobe whose avowed object is to bring the two peoples into closer touch. All persons who desire to see the "two sister nations walk hand in hand, free, happy, prosperous and peaceful" are invited to join the Association.

"We know nothing about India", states a manifesto issued by the founders of the Association, "and India knows nothing about us, or rather an ill-omened propaganda is telling the Indians that Japan is an imperialist nation, that she has invaded Manchuria, that she desires to impose her will upon the whole of Asia, that she is exploiting the markets of India and is working harm to her prosperity."

After relating the historic relations between the two countries, the manifesto recalls that it was India which gave Buddha to Japan and points out the necessity of developing more and more the religious, cultural and commercial relations between the two countries.

All this is, of course, intended to win the hearts of the Indian people so that they might throw open their markets to Japanese goods.

Amongst other passages contained in the manifesto, we quote the following :- "We have been too long unconscious of the misery of our 350,000,000 Indian brothers and sisters who are suffering under the unjust and unjustifiable yoke of the British who are exploiting them."

According to this passage in the manifesto, it seems that the object of the Association is not only to develop commercial relations with India but also to support the anti-British opposition. We cannot say whether there are any influential Japanese behind the founders of the Indo-Japanese Association. It may have been initiated by certain intellectuals or merchants. However, the political character which they are giving to the Association should not escape the notice of the Japanese authorities.

The Association should understand that nothing can be gained by its action in provoking domestic troubles among its neighbours. Above all, Japan should not overlook the fact <sup>that</sup> if she carries out intrigues in other countries, they could do the same in some part of her colonies. It would be better, therefore, for nations to adopt a proper attitude towards one another and not to plot anything for the purpose of provoking troubles in a neighbouring country.

G. M.

SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL POLICE.

S. E. REGISTRY.

Special Branch *D. 4* *4835*

REPORT

Date *7* April *6* 1935.

Subject (in full) Photograph of Pan Asiatic Conference Meeting.

Made by D.S. Lingard

Forwarded by Em Golden, D.S.I.

Attached is a photograph reproduced from the Manchuria Daily News dated February 7, 1934, in which are seen the delegates who attended the Pan Asiatic Conference in February, 1934 in Dairen.

The Indian wearing a turban in the left centre of the photograph is Waryam Singh, Hans, who has been well known as an active anti-imperialist in the past.

The <sup>attached</sup> photograph was obtained through S.D.C. 674 Sewa Singh of this Section.

*W.D. Lingard's*  
*D. S.*

D. C. (Special Branch).

*S 4,*

*Please show to Mr A*  
*JH*

1935

*Instructions of D.C. Special Branch have been complied with*

*W.D. Lingard*  
*S.D.C. 674*  
*8/4/35*

*File*  
*JH*

SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL POLICE.

File No. S. 3-REGISTRY.

S. 5, Special Branch, Station,

REPORT

Date April 2, 1935

Subject "A General View of India", a pamphlet printed in the Chinese and Japanese languages and distributed by the New Asia Association.

Made by and Forwarded by D.S.I. Golder

I forward herewith as directed by the D.C. Special Branch 5 copies of a translation from the Japanese of a pamphlet entitled "A General View of India" issued by the New Asia Association in Shanghai.

D. S. I.

D. C. (Special Branch)

Copies sent to Messrs. Steptoe, Early  
Ferguson and Warner.

File  
J.H.

### A GENERAL VIEW OF INDIA

Reports on the Indian people's struggle for liberty and independence are appearing from time to time in various Japanese newspapers. The public has been greatly misled regarding the culture and characteristics of Indians. Are Indians, as has been propagated by the British people, uncivilized? Is India degenerating?

India is an ancient country having been founded in the days of Moses and Pharoah. Its population is greater than the combined population of North and South America. The Indian people were already highly civilized when the Europeans were still in an uncivilized state. Almost all countries in the world owe much to Indian civilization. India was the country which defeated the ambition of Alexander the Great. India produced one of the three great religions and is the birth-place of two of the worlds greatest poets. Kalidasa (?), who is generally regarded as the Shakespeare of the Orient, was born in India. The invention of the decimal system, which is the basis of mathematics and the fundamentals of modern chemistry were the work of an Indian. Thus India is the country which made the present world civilization possible and she deserves to be called "The foundation of all the sciences".

At present India is under slavery, yet she has produced many well known scholars such as Drs. Tagore and Raman, who won the noble prize a few years ago.

Indian architecture is equal to that of the ancient Greeks and Romans and her temple architecture is well known throughout the world.

According to H.G. Wells, India has produced two of the six saints of the world, namely Buddha and King Aika (?). Europeans and Americans respect Rabindranath Tagore and M.K. Gandhi as the greatest men in the world. India has not only produced famous men of literature, art, philosophy and religion but also of politics, finance, military, science and engineering. She is the spiritual mother of all Asiatics and contains half of the world's population. India has lost her wealth, independence and liberty to the British people who are very avaricious. Is it possible that a big nation such as India will remain satisfied under the present state of slavery?

#### THE AREA AND POPULATION OF INDIA

Area - 1,808,679 square miles which is almost equal to the whole of Europe excluding Russia.

Population - 352,837,778 (Census taken in 1931).

Number of persons under sects or religions :-

Hindu and Buddhist	257,569,822
Mohammedan	77,677,545
Christian	6,296,763
Parsees	109,752
Judaists	24,141
British and other Europeans	288,778

Birth rate - 3.5%

Death rate - 2.7%

" " in large cities - the death rate is 3.5%, the highest in the world.

Average length of life in India is 24 years.

Average yearly income per capital is about Rupees 45 which is equal to Yen 30. That is to say that the Indian earns Yen 2.50 per month on an average.

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The majority of Indians suffer from starvation owing to the fact that the British have drained India of her wealth for the past 75 years.

Only 8 per cent of Indians are educated. This is the result of the British administration in India during the past 175 years. Only 3,500,000 Indians understand the English language.

The following is the revenue and expenditure of the Indian Government for 1933 and 1934 (Rupees 150 equal to Yen 100).

Revenue for 1933-1934

Central Government	Rupees	1,243,516,000
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Local Governments	"	363,252,120
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Expenditure

Central Government	"	1,241,055,000
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Local Governments	"	885,065,511
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Rupees 87,500,000 and 12,005,000 respectively of the total revenue are derived from salt and opium taxes.

The yearly expenditure for the military purposes amounts to Rupees 505,169,000 while the wages of civil servants of the Central Government amounts to Rupees 95,922,000. The salaries of civil servants in the local governments amounts to Rupees 530,546,350. All high positions in the government are held by white British.

Pay of Government officers :

Governor-General	Rupees	256,000	a year.
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Departmental Chief of the Central Government	"	80,000	"
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Provincial Governor	"	120,000	"
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Chief Judge	"	72,000	"
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Judge	"	48,000	"
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Commissioner of Police	Rupees	36,000 a year
Deputy Commissioner of Police	"	21,000 "
Other high officers of the Police	between Rupees	7,988 and 14,000 a year.

The British Prime Minister ranks higher than the Viceroy of India although his pay is only £5,000 which is equal to Rupees 75,000. It is the high salaries paid to British officials in India which makes India so poor.

#### THE MANNER IN WHICH THE BRITISH SUBJUGATE INDIA

At the beginning of the 18th century the Indians had no organized Government although they had a nominal Emperor whose authority was limited to affairs in the capital, leaving all the provincial governments to act at their will. The provincial governors regarded themselves as kings and began to fight for the expansion of their territories. At this period a number of British people appeared in India and took advantage of the conditions prevailing there. The British engineered matters so as to cause the Hindus to fight the followers of Mohammed, one party against another and one province against another with a view to bringing about the self-destruction of India. The British concluded many treaties with the Indians and abrogated the treaties at their will thereby abusing the confidence of the Indians so long as such action was profitable to them. Finally came the bartering of the position of the provincial king. The British plot bore fruit for it upset social order and servants began to disobey masters, soldiers violated military discipline etc. A British Empire was established in India. The British subjugated India by means of false pretences. The history of

British subjugation of India is full of political immorality and injustice. The British people occupied a part of India in 1757, the occupation required 100 years to complete. The British never fought India; they cheated the Indians. That is why the complete occupation required such a long period of time.

#### THE BRITISH ECONOMIC POLICY IN INDIA

India was very rich in the 17th and 18th centuries. The coffers of the Indian Kings were full of money, silver, gold and other valuables. At that time, Indian industry was at full swing. The Indians gathered gold and silver by means of trade with Asia, Europe and Africa. Indian muslin, silk, woollen goods, brass and copper are well known throughout the world. India was a wealthy country in the past, but to-day, after being administered by the British people for the past 175 years, she is the poorest country in the world. The average Indian is unable to make more than Rupees 45 a year.

The Parsee War (?) enabled the British people to control India, the richest country in the world. The millions and millions of Rupees which had been saved up by the millions of Indians during many centuries were carried off by the British. According to the British authorities on Indian history no estimate of this wealth carried off by the British people from India can be made. According to Mr. Macaulay the wealth of India flowed into England like water from the sea. However, the total amount of money made by the British in India during 57 years, from the Parsee War to the Wuotal War (?), is estimated at between £5,000,000,000 to £10,000,000,000.

At the very beginning of the British occupation of India every British resident in India endeavoured to

enrich himself by robbing Indians but now they have ceased this practice. The only difference between the past and the present regarding India's attitude towards Britain is that the former is now constitutionally coming closer to the latter. Even now Great Britain is taking away Yen 350,000,000 from India every year. A British subject named John Sallivan, who once was an official in India, states that the British in India are sucking dry the wealth of India. From this statement, we can easily see how Great Britain has enriched herself at the expense of India.

Between 1760 and 1795 machinery for cotton and silk spinning and weaving and steam engines were invented. The gold and silver obtained from India made Great Britain the richest country in the world. If the inventions had been discovered 50 years before Great Britain had enriched herself with India's wealth, these inventions and their inventors would have been of no use.

The British administration in India aims at keeping Indians at the level of farm labourers and at making India a supplier of raw materials. This is achieved by obstructing any improvement in the silk, cotton mills and ship-building industries.

The destruction of Indian industry and the continued sucking of India's wealth by the British have brought starvation to Indians with the resulting increased death rate.

The revenue of the local Government amounts to Rupees 863,252,120 of which Rupees 329,458,740 represents duties collected from farms. This shows how heavy are the taxes imposed upon the peasants. In support of these statements the views of several British notables may be quoted.

Sir W. Hunter (?) says :- "In 1880, 40,000,000 Indians suffered from famine".

Sir Ellyod (?) states :- "Indian peasants never have their stomach full".

Sir Williams Douy (?) says :- "70,000,000 Indians suffered from famine in the beginning of the 20th century".

Since the British occupation of India, famine has been more frequent in India than before. Famines were recorded in the past but they were local and only occurred once or twice in a century.

Between the 11th century and the 17th century, 14 famines were recorded in India but they were local in character.

Between 1800 and 1900, 31 famines occurred with a record of 32,550,000 deaths from hunger.

The British Government permit the Indian Government to use more than 40% of its revenue for military purposes, while only a small portion of the revenue is used for public health. Thus plague has broken out frequently, with a death roll running into several thousands. According to Government records between 1897 and 1913, 7,251,258 Indians died of pestilence. In 1918, 6,000,000 persons died of influenza in the short space of 3 months.

#### EDUCATIONAL WORK IN INDIA

In ancient times, education in India was popular and even in the Middle Ages, educational work in India was not inferior to that of the Europeans. After India had come under British rule, 92 per cent of Indians became illiterate. The present educational policy in India is neither compulsory nor liberal. There are over 300 colleges and a few universities but they are only so in name ~~only~~ because their equipment is inadequate

for high grade science courses. The Indian Government spends only a limited amount on the education and this is the cause of illiteracy among Indians.

#### MILITARY EXPENDITURE IN INDIA

The Indian Government spends 40% of its revenue on military equipment and pays no attention to public health or education. Indians are taken on as common soldiers only, while the officers are all white British. In the past Indians were not permitted to become officers but recently the Government has changed this policy and every year 10 Indians are appointed officers. Indians are not accepted in the artillery or in the air force. The heavy expenditure is not for the protection of India but for the prosperity of the British people although they have succeeded in establishing a British Empire with the assistance of Indian troops. This is why Great Britain keeps the Indian army at such heavy expense.

#### PRESENT SITUATION IN INDIA

India is now awakening. The Indians are struggling for the recovery of their liberty and independence under the leadership of Gandhi. The Indians are willing to sacrifice their lives for independence. Arrest of and assault upon Indians and their imprisonment and execution by the British are daily affairs. The Indians have lost the freedom of speech and publication and the right to organize societies. At one time, 500 Indians, young and old, women and children, were massacred by the British and at another time 100,000 Indians were thrown into jail without cause. A few years ago one British General massacred 500 unarmed Indians and wounded 1,500 Indians in the city of Amritsar.

Between the 18th and the 20th centuries, India was the central figure in an international dispute and she will be the key to international peace in future. Therefore, the maintenance of world peace will be impossible unless India is liberated from British bondage. For this reason all people who desire to maintain world peace must assist India to secure her complete independence.

Persons who wish to study Indian affairs are advised to read a book entitled "India and Bondage" written by an American, Dr. Sandarato.

Mr. Boss has kindly translated the book into the Japanese language. The price of the book is Yen 1.70 but purchasers who apply direct to Mr. Boss, may get a copy for Yen 1.

Ras Pary Boss,  
Indian Independence League.  
New Asia Association.  
Great Asia Independence Association.  
No. 79, 3 Chome,  
Inata,  
Shibuya Ku, Tokyo.

No. D

Date / /

**CEMENTED**

From the correspondence column of the *Japan Times*:

"I enclose herewith the common declaration of Mr. Rash Behari Bose and myself. In the name of justice we have issued it. And in the name of justice we are looking forward to its wide publication."

Yours truly,  
**M. PRATAP**

"It has been brought to our notice that the Reuter's correspondent in Tokyo has sent a telegram abroad saying that anti-British propaganda in this country had slackened lately, giving as one of the reasons some supposed split between us."

"We, therefore, consider it our duty to declare openly that there was never and there can never be any split between us."

"We stand for India's complete freedom, Asia's healthy regeneration and World Federation."

**M. PRATAP**  
**RASH BEHARI BOSE**

28/1/34

File  
JR



The leaders of the Asiatic Anti-British Society include a number of avid anti-British Indians among whom is Rash Behari Bose, who is a Japanese subject, and a member of the Black Dragon Society. The president of the society is Mr. Tamon Yokota, who is also chairman of the Japan Peasants' Federation. Offices are maintained in the Uchisaiwai-cho quarter of Tokyo, a section of the city quite popular with politicians.

Ever since the abrogation of the Indo-Japanese trade convention, this organization has become greatly concerned with the sufferings of the Indians under British "inhuman" policies. Mr. Yokota declared on one occasion: "Of India's population of 350,000,000, more than 80 per cent are farmers and, when Japanese goods are excluded from India, these will be forced to buy Lancashire manufactures at higher prices. If Japan retaliates, the Indian people would suffer greatly. Must we look on, with arms folded,

while such heinous acts are committed?"

#### Dr. Gorai Active

The origin of the Asiatic Anti-British Society could be traced to the activities of Dr. Gorai, who has been described as one of the noisiest and most bellicose of the university professors in Tokyo. Early in the year, he urged that no time be lost in forming an eastern league of Asiatics to be pitted against the League of Nations. He also pictured Great Britain as a fiend incarnate, a veritable Machiavelli. He said: "Not China, not America, but Britain is the enemy, yet the Japanese do not seem to be able to see this." It may also be recalled that about the same time Mr. Matsuoka, Japan's former chief delegate to Geneva, threatened Great Britain with dire consequences for her failure to support Japan.

Dr. Gorai, elsewhere described as a well-known reactionary professor of Waseda University, is one of the advisers of the Kodokai ("Imperial Way Society"), an organization largely composed of militarists and members of right wing farmers' unions, who are interested in overthrowing the white races and in promoting the hegemony of Japan among the Asiatic races.

There seems to have been a plethora of societies in Japan for the promotion of the Asia idea. A few weeks ago a patriotic body called the Asia Seinen Doshikai (Asiatic Young Men's Society) was organized in Kobe. At the time of its inauguration the following planks were adopted:

- "1. Acting in the spirit in which our nation was founded, we will do our utmost to establish our racial idea;
- "2. Release the peoples of Asia from the shackles of the white man's control; and
- "3. Destroy capitalism, the international weapon devised for the

white man's benefit alone and the old-established political parties."

#### Conference Planned

The promoters of the Great Asia Association in the welter of confusion caused by various Asia societies saw the opportunity of creating the Pan-Asiatic League. They have planned to hold a conference for the formal organization of the league during the next few days in Tokyo, which tends to unify all efforts presently directed against Great Britain and later against other Western countries which should try to thwart Japan's aspiration for a trade monopoly in Asia.

Behind this league movement stand Prince Konoe, vice-president of the House of Peers, Admiral Viscount Ogasawara, Mr. Hirota, former ambassador to Russia, Lieutenant-General Matsui, Baron E. Kuchi and Dr. Murakawa, professor of the Tokyo Imperial University, who have openly identified themselves with it. General Araki, minister of war, Admiral Kato, former chief of the naval general staff, and General Honjo, former commander of the Kwantung Garrison, are sympathizers with the movement though they have not actively associated themselves with it.

The inaugural meeting for the league, it is claimed, will be attended by delegates from all the Asiatic countries. Several Indian leaders with whom the writer has conversed on the subject called special attention to the possible attendance of a brother of the king of Siam at the conference. Despite the smallness of her territory Siam seems destined to play an important part in the Pan-Asiatic movement made in Japan.

After having refrained from voting on the League's resolution concerning the Chinese-Japanese controversy, Siam's friendly relationship with Japan has increased to such an extent that some learned Japanese has established a blood kinship of the Japanese with the Siamese. Professor Onji Azuma, of Tokyo has found remains of quite a large Japanese colony in Siam, which existed, so it is said, less than 200 years ago, but has since been absorbed into the Siamese race. This reminds one of the

Japanese attempts to prove kinship with the Mexicans back in 1914. Similarly they find themselves related to the Mongols and the Malaya peoples.

From a small but powerful group of Indians in Shanghai to whom the Japanese have unfolded their secret designs to expel British rule and influence from Asia, it is also learned that the Chinese will be represented by several politicians of the southwest at the conference. The names of these politicians, it is explained, are to be kept absolutely confidential for fear that their disclosure might have had repercussions upon themselves in the present temper of the Chinese people. There is speculation in some quarters as to the identity of the Chinese representatives, but it may be desirable not to go further into this matter.

#### Prominent Men Interested

The Japanese foreign office is understood to be tremendously interested in the league conference. Mr. Uchida, minister of foreign affairs, and Mr. Yoshizawa, former

Japanese minister to China, as honorary advisers of the league are, the writer presumes, doing everything within their power to make the movement a success. Naturally it will be of considerable interest to know how many delegates from the Asiatic countries other than Japan will attend. The organizing committee of the Pan-Asiatic League boasts of the sure presence of representatives from China, India, the Philippines, Persia, Siam and Afghanistan. Although Egypt is in Africa, she has also been invited to be represented at the conference.

The league in the course of formation has already a monthly publication to advance its interests. The magazine is called "Pan-Asianism," its first issue being published on May 1. It contained a very interesting article from General Araki, minister of war, in which he discussed eloquently Japan's mission to save Asia from the yoke of white men and declared that the key to peace on this continent is held by his country. Mr. Yoshizawa, who has hitherto been reluctant to contribute articles to the press, was credited with a short article on Pan-Asianism in which he pointed out that the time is ripe for the movement of "Asia for Asiatics." General Honjo's congratulatory message received a prominent place in the magazine.

The magazine further contained information about the interest of southwestern Chinese in the movement. It is said that many overseas Chinese have been enthusiastic supporters of Japanese leadership in Asia and that a similar movement has been started by members of the Kuomintang in Canton. The promoters of the league also tried to link it with Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who was represented by them to favor Pan-Asiatic activities.

#### Sounds Warning

In January, Captain Wedgwood Benn, former secretary of state for India, speaking on Oriental affairs at Toronto, had sufficient vision to see that the difficulties of the eastern situation lay in the possibility that Japan might secure the leadership of the East against the West rather than in the result of a Sino-Japanese conflict and that the vital question is whether India, in bridging the gap between the East and the West, will be able to bear the strain.

This might be described as the warning of a realist. Japan stands today as stood Mahomed—with a sword in one hand and the Koran in the other. But instead of the Koran Japan clutches the cult of Pan-Asianism, with herself as the leader. Those Asiatic nations who do not accept the cult will be put to the sword; those who accept it will have the honor of being humble bearers of her train. In effect Japan calls to the other Asiatic nations:—"Make me your leader, and I with my powerful army and navy will free you from the shackles of the West."

To those whose ignoble love of temporary ease and peace blinds them to the terrible possibilities of ghastly and protracted bloodshed that the Pan-Asiatic movement under the leadership of Japan would inevitably open up, the Japanese offer may make a strong appeal. But fortunately there are but few in China who do not realize that Japanese leadership would guide them to a goal of utter ruin and destruction.

## Anti-British Posters Make Appearance In Japan

Charge Of Ingratitude Despite Japan's Fidelity  
To Anglo-Japanese Alliance During War;  
Unknown Body As The Author

TOKYO, May 1. — Denouncing Britain for its allegedly perfidious treatment of its old ally Japan, posters conspicuously printed in black, white, and red have recently appeared pasted on wooden hoardings, fences and telegraph poles throughout the city of Tokyo. Bold characters in white on a black background credit a hitherto unknown organization, styling itself the "Asiatic Anti-British League," with the authorship.

After charging Britain with ingratitude towards Japan despite Japan's fidelity to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance during the Great War, these posters accuse Britain of having compelled Japan to accept an inadequate naval ratio at the Washington Conference and of fostering anti-Japanese sentiment at Geneva. In conclusion, they demand the emancipation of India from British rule and call on "the 400,000,000 people of China and the 300,000,000 people of India to drive British influence west of Suez."

In view of this concluding demand, it would probably be safe to hazard the guess that the prime movers in this new "League" are the handful of India malcontents and political refugees, led by the well-known seditionist, Kashbihari Bose, who play so active a part in trying to stir up anti-British sentiment in Japan under the guise of Pan-Asianism. Neither the "League" nor the posters issued in its name should, therefore, be taken too seriously, though there is no denying the fact that considerable resentment against Britain is felt just at present even among Japanese normally friendly to England.

The abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1922 has always rankled with the Japanese, but they have done their best to hide their ruffled feelings by maintaining that, dead as the Alliance may now be in fact, it yet remains as alive as ever in spirit. It came as a sad blow to them, therefore, when Britain recorded her vote along with those of the other 41 nations which voted against Japan at the League Assembly in February.

## One Thing After Another

On top of this has come the notification of the Indian Government's intention to abrogate the Indo-Japan Commercial Convention. Like the case of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, this cancellation has come--or so it seems to most Japanese--just at the moment when the treaty has ceased to give the main advantage to Britain; for no Japanese can be brought to believe that the abrogation is intended for India's good. Lancashire, not India, is the real instigator of abrogation, they assert. They are equally convinced that Britain, through the medium of the Indian Government, is in reality merely camouflaging its true intention, which is to bring economic pressure to bear on Japan and thereby assist the League to enforce the decisions reached at Geneva, in February.--  
Reuter.

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